Case-marked clausal subordination in the Burushaski complex sentence*

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Case marking and case marked clausal subordination in Burushaski

Burushaski is a language isolate spoken in the Northern Areas, Pakistan. Among the most salient features of the language is its highly developed case system. In addition to the grammatical ergative and genitive cases, which contrast only for class-II or human female nouns, a range of other case forms are actively used in Burushaski. These include a set of three basic local-directional cases (lative-dative, ablative, and the mostly archaic locative) and a further set of complex local-directional cases, viz. superessive, superlative, superablative, inessive, illative, inablative, adessive, allative, (ad-)ablative, etc. There are two instrumental cases (the *k*-instrumental and the *aŋe*-instrumental), as well as various lexicalized or lexically restricted local-directional and instrumental case forms. A representative set of Burushaski case functions with (pro)nominals may be found in (1).

(1) a. *dasen-**e** hir park-ule del-u*
girl-**ERG** man park-LOC hit-II
the girl hit the man in the park' [Field notes]

b. *ǰáa-**r** á-š-um-a*
I.OBLQ-**DAT** 1-say.DUR-AP-2
'you will tell me' [Berger 1998: 69]

c. *gute čʰap hir-**e** ya gus-**mu** dul-um*
this.IV meat man-I.**GEN/OBLQ** or woman-**II.OBLQ/GEN** be.IV-AP
'this meat was the man's or the woman's' [Field notes]

d. *ǰa balt hir ka gu-**mu-cum** yan-a*
I apple man and woman-**II.OBLQ-ABL** take-1SG
'I took the apple from the man and the woman' [Field notes]

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e. *ǰa balt gus ka hir-**cum** yan-a*
I apple woman and man-ABL take-1SG
'I took the apple from the woman and the man' [Field notes]

f. *gus-**mu-ṭe***
woman-**II.OBLQ-SUPERESS**
'on the woman' [Berger 1998: 60]

g. *ǰakun un-**ale** bi-m*
donkey you-ADESS be-III-AP
'the donkey was near you' [Tiffou 1993: 103]

h. *e-š-**aṭum***
I-neck-**SUPERABL**
'from on his neck' [Tiffou 1993: 11]

As the reader may have observed from examples (1c–e), there are cases in Burushaski which attach to both members of a conjoined noun phrase (either conjunctively or disjunctively conjoined), e.g. the genitive, while others attach only to the rightmost member of the noun phrase, for example the ablative. In other words, there are both morpho-lexical and phrasal cases in Burushaski.

Case marking is not limited to nominal forms alone in this language. One of the defining characteristics of complex sentence formation in Burushaski is the presence of case-marking on verbs to create subordinate clauses. A wide range of cases function in the system of Burushaski complex sentence formation. The pattern seen in Burushaski is primarily 'functionally motivated case marked clausal subordination', i.e. the specific case found on the verb is motivated by the particular functional type of the subordinate clause. These functions include, but are not limited to, temporal, causal, purposive, and conditional subordinate clauses. Note that while bearing overt case like a nominal form, the verbs discussed below maintain their internal verbal morphosyntax, assigning ergative case to transitive agents, absolutive case to intransitive subjects and transitive objects, or various oblique cases to additional (pro)nominal arguments or adjuncts, as well as preserve subject and object agreement and even tense/aspect morphology, etc. in the verbal word.

Cases attach to a range of different verbal forms in Burushaski. These include various nominalized forms, frequently referred to as participial and infinitive forms. More interesting from a typological perspective, however, is the fact that certain cases functioning in the system of clausal subordination attach not to overtly nominalized forms, but directly to fully finite verbs.

The matter is more complicated than first appears. While indeed the forms with certain auxiliary verbs are clearly finite (2), and the so-called 'infinitive'

forms are clearly nominalized, functioning as, for example, relative clauses, as well as infinitives in the European sense (3), the forms with the so-called 'aorist participle' form can be both finite and non-finite. This element appears in numerous finite verbal forms in Burushaski (4). The aorist participle is also used on verb forms appearing in a pre-nominal position in a relative clause function, the most common of its non-finite functions (5).

(2) i. *éč-a* ***bá-a***
do.DUR-1 **AUX**-1
'I am doing' [Field notes]

ii. *éč-u* ***b-o***
do.DUR-II **AUX**-II
'she is doing' [Field notes]

iii. *kʰay̠-ulo* *d-á-may-a* ***bá-a***
riverbank-INESS SUBJ.VERS-1-become.DUR-1 AUX-1
'I want to/will be born on the riverbank' [Berger 1998: 159]

iv. *dí-i* ***bá-i***
SUBJ.VERS-I **AUX**-I
'he has come'[1]
[field notes]

(3) i. *cʰá-aṭe* *oó-ruṭ-**as*** *huk*
post-SUPERESS NEG-sit-**INF** dog
'a dog which doesn't sit at its post' [Tiffou 1993: 16]

ii. *buṭ muškíl bilá góo-ltir-**as***
very difficult be.IV 2-show-**INF**
'it is very difficult to show (it) to you' [Berger 1998: 171]

(4) i. *dasín háa-le* *huruṭ-**um**-o*
girl house-ADESS sit-**AP**-II
'the girl sat in the house' [Willson 1990: 4]

ii. *dasín háa-le* *mó-yen-**um**-o*
girl house-ADESS II-sleep-**AP**-II
'the girl slept in the house' [Willson 1990: 4]

iii. *muúto je kʰiné ši-č-a-**m***
now I this eat-DUR-1-**AP**
'I want to eat this now' [Berger 1998: 160]

iv. *un in mu-cú-č-**um**-a*
you s/he II-marry-DUR-**AP**-2
'you will marry her' [Tiffou and Morin1982: 88]

v. *hilés-e dasin mu-yeéc-**im**-i*
boy-ERG girl II-see-**AP**-**I**
'the boy saw the girl' [Willson 1990: 4]

(5) i. a. *d-á-yal-**um** čáɣa*
SUBJ.VERS-1-hear-AP story
'the story I heard' [Berger 1998: 133]

or b. *d-á-yal-a-**m** čáɣa*
SUBJ.VERS-1-hear-1-AP story
'the story I heard' [Berger 1998: 133]

ii. *mú-mi a-pó-**m** t^{h}arés dasín*
II-mother NEG-be.II-**AP** orphan girl
'motherless orphan-girl' [Berger 1998: 166]

iii. *i-ŋí burúm man-**úm** mapéer-an*
I-beard white be(come)-**AP** elder-SG.ARTCL
'an old man with a white beard' [Berger 1998: 166]

In the following sections I examine the system of case-marked clausal subordination in Burushaski, presenting first the forms attaching to the non-finite, nominalized infinitive forms (1.1), the finite and non-finite aorist participle forms (1.2), and finally the finite auxiliary forms (1.3) and various minor formations (1.4). Following this discussion, I turn to a presentation of the data situating Burushaski within the broader context of case marked clausal subordination found in South Asia and the Himalayas, northern Eurasia, and further afield. Finally, I present a brief discussion of the breakdown of this system of case marked clausal subordination witnessed in the speech of certain younger Burushaski speakers and similar phenomenon in other languages making use of this clausal subordination strategy.[2]

1. Case marked clausal subordination strategies in Burushaski

Not only is there considerable variation in the types of verb forms that the cases attach to in the system of case-marked clausal subordination characteristic of Burushaski complex sentence structure, but there is also a wide variety of case forms which participate in this system. These include the dative, the ablative, the inessive, the locative, the superessive, and the adessive cases, in addition to the genitive case in the guise of various auxiliary noun formations, e.g. within the comitative case construction. Each of these is presented in turn below.

1.1 Infinitive forms

The infinitive form in *-as*, in addition to its functions as one means of marking relative clauses, verbal adjectives, and infinitives, can, when combined with various case forms, be used to mark a wide range of subordinate clause types in Burushaski. Thus, with the dative-lative case in *-ar*, a temporally subordinate clause of the 'when' type may be found.

(6) *sén-**as-ar***
say-**INF-DAT**
'when he said'
[Berger 1998: 190]

With the ablative case in *-cum* used in combination with the infinitive, a temporally subordinate clause of the 'after' type is formed, i.e. a subordinate clause, the action of which precedes the action of the main clause verb.

(7) *her-**as-cum** yar*
cry-**INF-ABL** after
'after crying' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

Inessive case forms are also found with the infinitive form in Burushaski. Like the dative, these form temporally subordinate clauses of the 'when' type.

(8) *du-ús-**as-ulo***
SUBJ.VERS-come.out-**INF-INESS**
'when he came out' [Berger 1998: 190]

The auxiliary (or relational) noun *kaa(ṭ)* 'with' may be used with a verbal complement in the infinitive form in the genitive case in Burushaski, in a type of comitative case construction. Like the ablative case, this can form a subordinate clause of the 'after' type.

(9) *her-**as-e** **káa***
cry-**AP-GEN** **with**
'on, after crying' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

That the *kaa(ṭ)* element of the comitative case construction is to be considered an auxiliary noun rather than a postposition is shown by the fact that this element may itself take further local/directional case affixes, as shown in (10) with the locative and (11) with the lative. This patterning is only characteristic of auxiliary noun constructions and not postpositions in Burushaski, which themselves do not permit any further inflection.

(10) *móo-ltir-**as-e*** ***káaṭ-e***
II-show-**INF-GEN** **with-LOC**
'after he showed it to her' [Berger 1998: 191]

(11) *d-ó-ṣ̌qalt-**as-e*** ***káaṭ-ar***
SUBJ.VERS-I/II.PL-arrive-**INF-GEN** **with-LAT**
'after they arrived' [Berger 1998: 191]

1.1.1 *Aorist participle forms*

In addition to the infinitive form in *-as*, cases may attach to verb forms in the aorist participle in *-im/-um* in Burushaski, the quality of the vowel being determined by the phonological shape of the stem to which it attaches.[3] Both the infinitive and the aorist participle occupy position class +4 in the Burushaski verb template (Anderson, forthcoming), and are therefore mutually exclusive with one another.[4]

As mentioned above, the aorist participle form has both non-finite functions, found in numerous relative-type constructions, as well as finite functions, appearing in numerous verb forms synchronically (albeit certain ones of which probably historically derive from non-finite formations). In the case of first person singular forms, which have the subject marker in position +3, the cases attach to a fully finite (looking) form in most instances. In other forms, the case occupies the same position in the verb template (position +5) as the non-first singular subject markers, and therefore cannot have the same exact form as a finite predicate.

Dative case-marked clauses in the aorist participle form, similar to those in the infinitive form, express temporally subordinate clauses of the 'when'-type as in (12).

(12) *barén-a-**m-ar***
look-1-**AP-DAT**
'when I looked' [Berger 1998: 190]

A verb in the aorist participle may also appear in the ablative case form to mark a temporally subordinate clause, the action of which precedes that of the main clause verb.

(13) *in-é* *mi-ríiŋ-e* *wál-**um-cum***
he-ERG 1PL-hand-PL fall-**AP-ABL**
'after he fell into our hands' [Berger 1998: 75]

The inessive case form in *-ulo (-ulu)*, used in conjunction with the aorist participle, is another way of forming temporally subordinate clauses meaning 'when' or 'after' in Burushaski.

(14) i. *ɣaliz bay-a-**m-ulu** K^{h}udá-e-re duá et-a-m*
ill be-1-**AP-INESS** God-OBLQ-DAT prayer AUX.TR-1-AP
'when I was ill I prayed to God' [Leitner 1889: 216]

ii. *dí-i-**m-ulo***
SUBJ.VERS-IV-**AP-INESS**
'after it came (to her)' [Berger 1998: 190]

One of the characteristic features of Burushaski complex sentence formation is the use of the superessive case in *-aṭe*. With the aorist participle form, its primary functions in the clausal subordination system are to form temporally subordinate clauses of the 'when'- or 'before'-type; see (15). With the negative, this frequently corresponds to 'without having Verb-ed' as in (16).

(15) *gu-ír-**um-aṭe***
2-die-**AP-SUPERESS**
'when you die, before you die' [Tiffou 1993: 16]

(16) *oó-ar-**um-aṭe***
NEG-CRY-**AP-SUPERESS**
'without crying, having cried' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

The adessive case in *-ce* may also be found in the system of Burushaski complex sentence formation. With the aorist participle form, the adessive case is yet another means of marking 'when'-clauses.

(17) *á-yan-a-**m-ce***
1-fall.asleep-1-**AP-ADESS**
'when I fell asleep' [Berger 1998: 191]

The *kaa(ṭ)* element of the comitative auxiliary noun construction may also be found with the aorist participle form. This has the same functions as those associated with this formation when it is found with the infinitive.

(20) a. *her-**um-e káa***
cry-**AP-GEN with**
'on, after crying' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

(21) a. *ní-a-**m-e káaṭ-e***
go-1-**AP-GEN with-LOC**
'after I went' [Berger 1998: 190–1]

1.1.2 *Durative forms*

In addition to the aorist participle forms discussed in 1.1.1 above, a certain number of case forms can be used with durative forms in Burushaski complex sentence formations. The durative is marked by either a suffix in position +2 of the verb template, or by a softening of the stem-final consonant. Which pattern a particular verb stem takes is lexically determined. Some case-marked durative forms appear with a plain durative stem, while other forms attach to a durative stem in an aorist participle form. In the instance of the dative-lative case form, the former construction — the bare durative form — marks purposive clauses, i.e. 'in order to Verb' (18), while the latter form — the durative-cum-aorist — is one means of marking conditional clauses (19).

(18) a. *sú-č-**ar***
bring-**DUR-DAT**
'in order to bring'
b. *gay-**ar***
take.**DUR-DAT**
'in order to take'
c. *may-**aár***
become.**DUR-DAT**
'in order to become'
[Berger 1998:140–1]

(19) *gani-yar tom-e sen-im-i ke "ǰa-a a-ríiŋ*
axe-DAT tree-ERG say-AP-III/IV COMP I-GEN 1-hand
*gu-č^{h}i-y-a-**m-ar** a-skar-š-a-a"*
2-give-DUR-1-**AP-DAT** 1-cut-DUR-2-Q
'the tree said to the axe "if I give you my hand, will you cut it off"'
[Tiffou 1993:99]

The locative form of the durative (in the aorist participle form) is used to mark action performed simultaneous to the action of the main verb, e.g. 'while Verb-ing'.[5]

(20) *k^{h}os c^{h}igír-an-e i-súmal p^{h}íp^{h}il **éč-um-e** a-yár*
this.III goat-SG.ARTCL-ERG III-tail wag **AUX.TR.DUR-AP-LOC** 1-side
man-ím-i
become-AP-III
'the goat came before me wagging its tail' [Berger 1998:171]

In the negative, this locative case construction of the durative form creates subordinate clauses rendered 'without Verb-ing' in English translations.

(21) *duró* ***ay-éč-um-e***
work **NEG-AUX.TR.DUR-AP-LOC**
'without working' [Berger 1998: 172]

Note that the durative-cum-aorist form in the locative frequently appears doubled in the positive construction.

(22) *ṣapik ṣí-ç̌-**um-e*** *ṣí-ç̌-**um-e***
bread eat-**DUR-AP-LOC** eat-**DUR-AP-LOC**
'while eating (and eating) his bread' [Berger 1998: 172]

The durative form in the aorist participle may also appear in the superessive case form. Like many of the preceding constructions, this creates temporally subordinate clauses of the 'when' type.

(23) *laḍai **éč-um-aṭe***
fight **AUX.TR.DUR-AP-SUPERESS**
'when he fought' [Berger 1998: 171]

Finally, the comitative auxiliary noun construction may also appear with the durative form in the aorist participle form. Unlike other subordinate clause formations appearing with this auxiliary noun construction, where 'after' clauses are formed, the durative with the comitative is an additional means of marking 'while' clauses in Burushaski.

(24) *in ɣar **éč-um-e*** ***káa*** *girát-im-i*
he song **AUX.TR.DUR-AP-GEN with** dance-AP-I
'he danced singing' [Berger 1998: 172]

1.2 Finite auxiliary forms

In addition to attaching to an aorist participle or durative form of the verb, the superessive case may attach directly to a fully inflected form of the auxiliary verb *b(a)-* (25). Note that this is attested primarily in first person singular forms in Burushaski. As mentioned above, this is also true of a range of case forms used with first person singular subjects in the aorist participle form.

(25) a. *barén-a **b-á-ṭe***
see-1 **AUX-1-SUPERESS**
'when I saw' [Berger 1998: 140]

b. *sen-a* ***bá-ṭe***
say-1 **AUX-1-SUPERESS**
'upon my having said' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

1.3 Other forms

A small number of other formations using case morphology on verbs may also be found in the system of Burushaski complex sentence structure. Thus, case forms (e.g. the superessive) may appear on a verb stem marked by a subject prefix, lacking a suffix for the infinitive, aorist participle, durative, or any other post-stem morphology.

(26) *ma* ***ma-ír-áṭe*** *ǰe taŋ a-máy-a-m*
you (PL) **2PL-die-SUPERESS** I sad 1-become.DUR-1-AP
'when you die I will be sad' [Berger 1998: 140]

The so-called conditional inflection in Hunza and Nagar Burushaski historically consists of a special conditional suffix in position +4 in combination with the adessive case suffix.

(27) *a-mé* *b-**ičan-ce*** *p^{h}iṭi* *a-t-áa-ɣurk-a-m,*
1-tooth be-**COND-ADESS** food NEG-SUBJ.VERS-1-find-1-AP
p^{h}iṭi *b-**ičan-ce*** *a-mé* *a-pí*
food be-**COND-ADESS** 1-tooth NEG-be.III
'when I have teeth, I have no food, when I have food, I have no teeth'
[Tiffou 1993: 20]

Finally, the durative form of a lexical verb in the genitive case of the aorist participle form, when used in combination with a durative form of the auxiliary verb *ǰ̣u-* 'come' and the (borrowed) general subordinator or complementizer *ke* creates a temporally subordinate clause, the action of which immediately precedes the action of the main clause, i.e. 'as soon as Verb-ed'.

(28) *d-í-t^{h}al-**ǰ-um-e*** *ǰ̣u-č̣-ii* *ke*
SUBJ.VERS-I-wake.up-**DUR-AP-GEN** AUX-DUR-I COMP/SUBORD
'as soon as he woke up' [Berger 1998: 172]

1.4 Variation in formal means of marking functionally motivated case marked clausal subordination

As alluded to throughout the preceding discussion, there is great variation with respect to the formal means of expressing a given functional type of subordinate

clause in Burushaski. One example will suffice to demonstrate the at times dizzying variability attested in this fascinating isolate language of northern Pakistan.

Temporally subordinate clauses of the 'after'-type can be expressed in at least *eighteen* (!) formally different ways in various Burushaski texts. These are not all in actual variation with each other. Some of these occur primarily or exclusively in different subject constructions, while others are found in same subject constructions.[6] A list of these is offered in (29) and representative sentences of these types may be found in (30)–(47).

(29) Ways of marking temporal subordination of the 'after'-type

i.	AP-ABL	x.	AP aux.noun$_{\beta}$-LAT
ii.	INF-ABL	xi.	AP aux.noun$_{\beta}$-LOC
iii.	AP-ABL + postposition$_{\alpha}$	xii.	INF
iv.	AP-ABL + postposition$_{\beta}$	xiii.	AP-DAT SUBORD/COMP
v.	INF-DAT + postposition$_{\alpha}$	xiv.	INF (aux)noun-INESS
vi.	AP-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-SUPERESS	xv.	AP aux.noun$_{\gamma}$-SUPERESS
vii.	INF-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-SUPERESS	xvi.	AP aux.noun$_{\gamma}$-ALL
viii.	INF-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-LAT	xvii.	AP-SUPERESS
ix.	non-final (same-subject) converb	xviii.	INF-SUPERESS

(30) AP-ABL
*in-é mi-ríiŋ-e wál-**um-cum***
he-ERG 1PL-hand.PL fall-**AP-ABL**
'after he fell into our hands' [Berger 1998: 75]

(31) INF-ABL
*buṭ kʰ**éen** ní-**as-cum***
much time go-**INF-ABL**
'after much time had passed' [Berger 1998: 190]

(32) AP-ABL + postposition$_{\alpha}$
*še-**m-cum iciaṭe***
eat-**AP-ABL PP**
'after he ate it' [Berger 1998: 190]

(33) AP-ABL + postposition$_{\beta}$
*in-é i-ír-**um-cum ilǰi***
he-ERG[7] I-die-**AP-ABL PP**
'after he died' [Berger 1998: 190]

(34) INF-DAT + postposition$_{\alpha}$
č^{h}*iṣ yákal gáarc-**as-ar icíaṭe***
mountain toward run-**INF-DAT PP**
'after he ran off towards the mountain' [Berger 1998: 190]

(35) AP-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-LOC
ní-a-m-e *káaṭ-e*
go-1-**AP-GEN with-LOC**
'after I went' [Berger 1998: 190–1]

(36) INF-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-LOC
*móo-ltir-**as-e*** ***káaṭ-e***
II-show-**INF-GEN with-LOC**
'after he showed it to her' [Berger 1998: 191]

(37) INF-GEN aux.noun$_{\alpha}$-LAT
*d-ó-šqalt-**as-e*** ***káaṭ-ar***
SUBJ.VERS-I/II.PL-arrive-**INF-GEN with-LAT**
'after they arrived' [Berger 1998: 191]

(38) non-final (same-subject) converb
míi-mo *háa-lar* *di-mée-**n-in***
1PL-GEN house-ILLAT SUBJ.VERS-1PL-**CV-CV**
'after we came into our house' [Berger 1998: 185]

(39) AP aux.noun$_{\beta}$-ALL
*sén-**um*** ***k^{h}éen-ar***
speak-**AP AN-LAT**
'when/after he had spoken' [Berger 1998: 191]

(40) AP aux.noun$_{\beta}$-LOC
*sén-**um*** ***k^{h}éen-e***
speak-**AP AN-LOC**
'when/after he had spoken' [Berger 1998: 191]

(41) INF
*gáar-č-**as***
run-PL.ACT-**INF**
'after they ran away' [Berger 1998: 191]

(42) AP-DAT SUBORD/COMP
*je gir-á-**m-ar*** ***ke*** *in ní-m-i*
I arrive-1-AP-DAT SUBORD he go-AP-I
'after I arrived (in the village) he went' [Berger 1998: 191]

(43) INF (aux)noun-INESS
*ǰu-**as*** ***wáqt-ulo***
come-**INF time-INESS**
'after (they) came' [Berger 1998: 191]

(44) AP aux.noun$_{\gamma}$-SUPERESS
*zaq ó-t-**um** **múš-aṭe***
injure I/II.PL-AUX.TR-AP AN-SUPERESS
'when/after we hurt them' [Berger 1998: 191]

(45) AP aux.noun$_{\gamma}$-ALL
*ṣi-**m** **múš-car***
eat(IV)-**AP AN-ALL**
'after (they) had eaten it' [Berger 1998: 191]

(46) AP-SUPERESS
*guč^{h}á-y-a-m bá-ya-**m-aṭe***
lay.down-DUR-1-AP AUX-1-**AP-SUPERESS**
'after I lay down' [Berger 1998: 190]

(47) INF-SUPERESS
*u tól-**as-aṭe***
they hit.PL-**INF-SUPERESS**
'after I hit them' [Berger 1998: 190]

Thus, case marked clausal subordination appears in a large number of formal and functional sub-types in Burushaski. At least six cases are commonly used in the case-marked clausal subordination system in Burushaski, viz. dative, ablative, inessive, superessive, adessive, and locative. These may appear on an aorist participle, an infinitive, or a durative stem, or even a finite form of the verb in the subordinate clause. Functionally speaking, case-marked clausal subordination in Burushaski commonly creates temporal clauses, causal and manner clauses, as well as conditional clauses.

2. Case-marked clausal subordination in other (Eurasian) languages

2.1 Munda languages

The case-marked clausal subordination strategy is not limited to Burushaski by any means. It is in fact relatively common in morphologically rich (SOV) languages of Eurasia which make use of nominal cases. Similar constructions may be found, albeit in a far less developed manner, in Munda languages, both in North Munda Mundari as in (48), and to a lesser extent in South Munda Gtaʔ as in (49).

(48) *Mundari* (North Munda/Austroasiatic; India)
*Ranci-te-ɲ sen-ke-n-**re*** *sinema-ɲ lel-ke-d-a*
R-OBLQ-1 go-AOR-INTR-**LOC** cinema-1 see-AOR-TRANS-FIN
'when I went to Ranchi, I saw the cinema' [Osada 1992: 121]

(49) *Gta?* (South Munda/Austroasiatic; India)
hṛiŋ *nswar-la bura-nḍia?* *p'-paŋ-ḍiŋ-**k-nia***
later.on dry-DS flood-water REDPL-come-IMPF-**PRTCPL-DIR/LOC**
'later on, when (you) have dried (me) out and the floods come…'
[Mahapatra & Zide n.d.]

2.2 Limbu

Limbu, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, also seems to make at least limited use of case-morphology on predicates in subordinate clauses. Thus, the ergative-instrumental case seems to mark certain causal, temporal, and conditional subordinate clauses in Limbu (50).

Ergative-Instrumental *-ille* → many related functions, temporal, conditional, purposive, etc.

(50) *Limbu* (*Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman*; Nepal)
a. *ani* *a-dzo·g-u-m-**ille*** *wi?l mɛ-dha-nɛn*
we.INC 1-do-3PAT-PL.AGT-**SUBORD** rain NEG-fall-NEG
'because of what we have done, rain won't fall'
[van Driem 1987: 230]
b. *kɛ-ye·?l-**ille*** *sa·?rik kɛ-ghɛm*
2-laugh-**SUBORD** very 2-suit
'you are handsome when you laugh' [van Driem 1987: 231]
c. *hɛkke·* *kɛ-ba·tt-u-m-**ille*** *a-niŋ lɛ? lɛ?*
like.that 2-speak-3PAT-PL.AGT-**SUBORD** 1-ire REDPL.unleash
'if you are going to talk like that, I'll get fed up'
[van Driem 1987: 231]

Other Himalayan languages of the Tibeto-Burman family also make use of case morphology on verbs to mark various types of subordinate clauses, e.g. Meithei (Manipuri) (Chelliah 1997) or the Tamangic languages Nar Phu (Noonan n.d.–a) and Chantyal (Noonan n.d.–b). For a discussion of this in Newari in particular and in Tibeto-Burman languages more generally, see Genetti (1991), who gives a range of examples of different formal and functional sub-types of case-marked clausal subordination in Tibeto-Burman languages.

2.3 Turkic languages

While these Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia and the Himalayas make relatively limited use of the case-marked clausal subordination strategy, certain other Eurasian languages make extensive use of these constructions, equal to or even greater than those found in Burushaski. For example, this particular clausal subordination strategy is a characteristic feature of Turkic interclausal morphosyntax. In Xakas, a Turkic language of south central Siberia, case-marked subordinate clause predicates are frequently attested. See in this regard the selection offered in (51)–(59).

Functionally motivated case-marked clausal subordination sub-types in Xakas

(51) Past Participle + locative → 'when'
*sala čaɣɨnna-**an-da*** *sɨray-čüz-ɪ körɪn-ɪbɪs-ken*
a.little come.near-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC** face=face-3 be.visible-PERF-PAST
'when he got a little closer, his face became visible' [Anderson 1998: 78]

(52) Past Participle + locative → 'because'
naŋmɪr čaa-p ***sɨx-xan-da,*** *min kil*
rain precipitate-CV INCH-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC** I come
pol-ba-a-m
CAP-NEG-PAST-1
'because it (started to) rain(ed), I couldn't come' [Anderson 1998: 78]

(53) Future Participle + locative → 'before'
čɨɬɨɣ *past-**ɨr-da*** *min-ɪ sür* *sɨx-xan-nar*
meeting begin-**FUT.PRTCPL-LOC** I-ACC drive.away INCH-PAST-PL
'before the meeting began, they drove me away' [Anderson 1998: 78]

(54) Past Participle + ablative → 'after', 'since' (usually + postposition/ auxiliary noun)
*timɪr čol püdɪrɪl-**gen-neŋ*** *peer* *gorod öz-ɪbɪs-ken*
railroad be.built-**PAST.PRTCPL-ABL** since/after city grow-PERF-PAST
'the city began to grow after the railroad was built' [Anderson 1998: 80]

(55) Future Participle + dative → 'before'
*min kil-**er-ge*** *pes* *odɨn* *sal*
I come-**FUT.PRTCPL-DAT** stove firewood put
'stoke the stove-fire before I come'
[Anderson 1998: 74]

(56) Unaccomplished Participle + dative → 'before'
*xɨnnɨɣ tus-tar pɨs töre-**elek-ke** irt par-ɣan-nar*
interesting time-PL we be.born-**UNACMPL-DAT** pass PRFV.II-PAST-PL
'there were interesting times before we were born' [Anderson 1998: 76]

(57) Past Participle + prosecutive-equative → 'until', 'while'
a. *min arɨɣ ara-zɨn-da kır par-**ɣan-ǰa**,*
I forest between-3-LOC enter TLOC-**PAST.PRTCPL-P/E**
čooxta-bas-sɨŋ, kör
speak-NEG.FUT-2 see
'you will not talk, (but rather) watch until I have entered the forest' [Anderson 1998: 79]
b. *peer čit-**ken-ım-ǰe** ügre-m soo-p*
to.here reach-**PAST.PRTCPL-1-P/E** soup-1 cool.down-CV
par-ča
PRFV.II-PRES
'my soup was cooling while I was getting here' [Anderson 1998: 79]

(58) Past Participle + circumstantial-causalis → 'because'
*püün naŋmɨrlɨɣ kün pol-**ɣan-naŋar** pɨs palɨxt-ırya*
today rainy day be-**PAST.PRTCPL-CIR** we fish-INF
par-ba-a-bɨs
go-NEG-PAST-1PL
'because it was rainy we didn't go fishing' [Anderson 1998: 79]

(59) Future Participle + Possessive + instrumental → 'as soon as'
*direktor kır-**er-ı-neŋ** ol tur kil-gen*
director enter-**FUT.PRTCPL-3-INS** he stand CLOC-PAST
'as soon as the director entered, he stood up' [Anderson 1998: 81]

In addition to Xakas, case marked clausal subordination is found in many different Turkic languages, both non-Siberian ones as in (60) and especially in Turkic languages of Siberia, as in (61). In Siberian Turkic languages, case marked clausal subordination is found primarily in different subject constructions, to a lesser extent so in non-Siberian Turkic languages.[8]

(60) a. *Chuvash*
i. *kay-**nă-ran-pa***
leave-**PRTCPL-ABL-INS**
'since he left'

ii. *kě-**ně-ren-pe***
enter-**PRTCPL-ABL-INS**
'since she entered'
[Andreev 1966: 56]

b. *Azeri*
*čoban čox ol-**an-da** goyun-u gurd ye-yär*
shepherd many be-**PRTCPL-LOC** sheep-ACC wolf eat-AOR
'when there are many shepherds, the wolf will eat the sheep'
[Gadzhieva 1966: 82]

c. *Crimean Tatar*
*geǯe ol-**ɣan-da** Kose-Bay usul-nen aranč̌-ya kir-gen*
night be-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC** K-B care-INS barn-DAT enter-PAST
'when it became night, Kose-Bay carefully entered the barn'
[Sevortyan 1966: 256]

d. *Saryg Uygur*
*Lan'ǯou-ɣa ye't-**ken-de** Lan'ǯou šuŋtu yakš̌*
L.-DAT reach-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC** L. leader well
kör-gen-dro
see-PAST-ASSRTV.3
'when we reached Lanzhou, the Lanzhou leader received us well'
[Tenishev 1966: 37]

e. *Uzbek*

i. *biz kŭl-ga kel-**gan-da,** kŭl-dan ŭrdak ŭč-ib*
we lake-DAT come-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC** lake-ABL duck fly-CV
ket-di
TLOC-PAST
'when we got to the lake, the ducks flew off'
[Reshetov 1966: 358]

or

ii. *biz kŭl-ga kel-**gan-imiz-da,** kŭl-dan ŭrdak ŭč-ib*
we lake-DAT come-**PAST.PRTCPL-1PL-LOC** lake-ABL duck fly-CV
ket-di
TLOC-PAST
'when we got to the lake, the ducks flew off'
[Reshetov 1966: 358]

(61) a. *Shor*
*orta čol-ga čet-**keleg-im-de**, nagbur čibre-p*
middle road-DAT reach-**UNACCMPL-1-LOC** rain drop-CV
šik-ti
INCH-PAST
'when I hadn't yet reached the middle of the road, the rain began to drop' [Efremov 1984: 69]

b. *Quu-kiži* [Chalkan, N. Altai]
*eki kiz-i par-**iyen-de** Karatu-Kan učinči*
2 daughter-3 go-**PST.PRTCPL-LOC** K.-K. third
kiz-in-a ayt-piin par-tir
daughter-3-DAT speak-NEG AUX-EVID.PAST
'when his (first) two daughters got married, Karatu-Kan stopped speaking to his 3rd daughter' [Baskakov 1958: 93]

c. *Altai-kiži* [S. Altai]
*ene-si kol lo ber-**er-de**, uul-i kol-in d'apas-ip*
mother-3 hand EMPH give-**P/F-LOC** son-3 hand-3.ACC squeeze-CV
kat(t)ap sura-di ada-m kayda?
again ask-PAST father-1 where
'when the mother offered her hand, the son squeezed her hand and again asked "where is my father?"' [Baskakov 1958: 77]

d. *Tuvan* [a.k.a. Tuvinian, Tyvan, Soyon, Soyot, Uryangxai, etc.]
i. *čed-ip kel-**gen-im-de***
arrive-CV CLOC-**PST.PRTCPL-1-LOC**
'when I arrived (here)' [Anderson & Harrison 1999: 73]
ii. *ottu-p ke-**er-im-ge**, kezek kara bulut kel čora-an*
wake-CV CLOC-P/F-1-DAT piece black cloud come IMPF-PAST
'when I woke up, a dark cloud was approaching' [Sat 1966: 399]

e. *Yakut* [Saxa]
*xotu učaastak jon-o kel-**betex-ter-i-tten** uopsay muŋŋax*
north district people-3 come-**NEG.PAST-PL-3-ABL** general meeting
buol-batax
be-NEG.PAST
'because people from the northern district didn't come, there wasn't a general meeting' [Korkina et al. 1982: 231]

f. *Baraba Tatar*
*kön-när-niŋ pir kön-in-dä yɨraq kötmiš-kä ket-**kän-dä**,*
day-PL-GEN one day-3-LOC far hunt-DAT go-**PAST.PRTCPL-LOC**
'when one day (they) set off on a far-off hunt…'
[Dmitrieva 1981:95]

2.4 Languages of Siberia

The case-marked clausal subordination strategy is also found throughout the native languages of Siberia ((62)–(65)), though not as frequently as in the Turkic languages just discussed. Note that in these Siberian languages, as in Burushaski, the cases may attach to a participial or overtly nominalized form of the verb (62a–d), directly to the tense/person inflected verb (63a–b), directly to a verb stem (64a–b) or even to a fully finite verb form, e.g. in Ket (65a–d).[9]

(62) a. *Mansi* (Ob-Ugric, Uralic)
*juw joxt-**um-um-t** xo:təl-as*
house arrive-**PRTCPL-1-LOC** day.dawn-PST
'when I arrived home, the day had (already) dawned'
[Rombandeeva 1993:299]

b. *Buryat* (Mongolic)
*xele-**xe-de-m** ünenše-xe-güy*
tell-**FUT-LOC/DAT-1** believe-FUT-NEG
'when I tell (my friends), they won't believe it'
[Cheremisina et al. 1984:156]

c. *Negidal* (Tungusic)
ŋene-čæ:-dukki-sun
leave(for.home)-**PRTCPL-ABL-2PL**
'since you left' (Tsintsius 1982:25)

d. *Nivkh* [a.k.a. *Gilyak*] (Isolate)
*mu aj-inɨ-**f-tox** čχa ɲ-imɣ-d*
boat make-MOD-**NOMLZR-DAT** money 1-give-FIN
'he gave me money to make a boat' (Gruzdeva 1998:51)

(63) a. *Enets* (Northern Samoyed, Uralic)
*sɪraˀ niɲ kodia-**hað-oɲ** ŋo:-ɲ desumaˀ*
snow-GEN on sleep-**ABL**-PX.1SG leg-1SG get.sick.AOR.3SG
'since I was sleeping on the snow, my leg got sick' (Künnap 1999:35)

b. *Yugh* (recently extinct Yeniseic)
*u kidagej ku-daχ-**diŋəːr***
you here 2-live-**ABL**
'since you lived here' (Werner 1997: 236)

(64) a. *Chukchi* (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)
*yəme-**ɣtə** nelyə-n ɣəm-nan tə-ttˀə-ɣˀe-n*
hang.up-**ALL** pelt-ABS I-ERG 1SUBJ-knock.over-PERF-3OBJ
əweyočyən
vessel.ABS
'when I hung up the pelt I knocked over the vessel'
(Kämpfe & Volodin 1995: 106)

b. *Central Siberian Yupik* (Eskimo-Aleut)
*aghyu-**m** naav-uk*
get.old-**REL** break-IND(3D)
'it (a stove) broke because it is old' (de Reuse 1994: 36)

(65) a. *-diŋal* Ablative → 'since Verb-ing' [temporal]
Ket (Yeniseic)
*bu ətnas du-ɣ-a-raq-**diŋal** dɔŋ sìkŋ u-ɣɔŋ*
he we-INS/COM I-MTS-PRES-live-**ABL** three year.PL III-go
'three years have passed since he's been living with us'
Werner (1997b: 353)

b. *-bes* Prosecutive [Prolative] → 'while Verb-ing'
Ket (Yeniseic)
*bu d-äla-ŋ-bu-ɣ-a-vet-**bes** kravat-d ətˀka*
he I-out-ITER/PL-RFLXV-MTS-PRES-ITER/SF-**PROSEC** bed-GEN on-LOC
ses-o-l-ta
sit-PST-PRET-SF
'getting undressed he sat on the bed' Kostjakov (1976: 61)

c. *-diŋta* Adessive → 'because Verb'
Ket (Yeniseic)
*at t-lɔver-a-vet-**diŋta** at saˀj iŋ-d-aq*
I 1-work-PRES-SF-**ADESS** I tea PST/PRF-1-give
'because I work, give me tea' Werner (1997b: 353)

d. *-dita* Benefactive → 'because Verb-ed'
Ket (Yeniseic)
*ar' i·s t-taŋ-u-ɣ-a-vet-**dita,** ap dɔɣɔt*
I meat 1-bring-2-MTS-PRES-SF-**BEN** I.GEN for
al-il-git
cook.soup-PST/PRF-SF
'because I brought you meat, cook me some soup'
Werner (1997b: 353–4)

3. Loss of case marked clausal subordination

While case-marked clausal subordination is a defining and characteristic feature of complex sentence formation in Burushaski, it is not an immutable feature. Increasingly, case marked clausal subordination is being supplemented, where one finds mixed systems, or replaced altogether by subordinators, particularly in the speech of younger acculturated males.

Thus, in (66a–b), mixed forms may be found with both the case-marked clausal subordination together with the subordinator *ke*. There are also forms attested with a shift away from the case-marking altogether, with either a finite verb followed by the subordinator *ke* as in (67) or a clause-initial subordinator *baša*, the interrogative pronoun 'when', followed by a finite verb as in (68).

(66) mixed subordination → case marked clausal subordination + subordinator
a. *sén-á-**ṭe** **ke***
say-2-**SUPERESS SUBORD**
'on your having said', 'when you said' [Tikkanen 1995: 493]
b. *je gir-á-m-**ar** **ke** in nɪ-m-i*
I arrive-1-AP-**DAT SUBORD/COMP** he go-AP-I
'after I arrived (in the village) he went' [Berger 1998: 191]

(67) finite verb plus clause-final subordinator only
*in-é baré-im-i **ke** in-é sukúin-an-e buá-an*
he-ERG look-AP-I **SUBORD** he-GEN relative-SG.ARTCL-GEN COW-SG.ARTCL
éle ɣan-ɪm-i t^{h}áp-ulo
there appear-AP-III night-INESS
'when he looked, (it turned out) his relative's cow had appeared there during the night' [Berger 1998: 192]

(68) finite verb plus clause-initial subordinator only
to ***baša*** *čʰoyorum maiy-um* *dua*
so **when** cold become.DUR-AP AUX.IV
'so when it gets cold…'
[Field Notes, text 10; Anderson et al. (compilers) 1998]

This is a result of several factors at work in the history of Burushaski. First, the construction with *ke* is clearly an innovation: the subordinator itself is a loan element of Indo-European origin. *ke* was originally used only as a complementizer and has only in the last decades spread to other constructions to become a more generalized subordinator in the language. This can be seen by comparing the earliest Burushaski sources from the nineteenth century (Biddulph, Leitner) and the early texts collected by Lorimer with more recent sources (Berger 1974, 1998). In the earlier sources, case-marked clausal subordination is common and *ke* is rare or lacking altogether in the functions associated with the case-marked clausal subordination strategy examined above. In more recent sources, *ke* is increasingly common, especially in the speech of educated, Urdu-literate male speakers of Yasin Burushaski. Also, the use of the interrogative pronoun *baša* 'when' in temporally subordinate clauses is not attested at all in earlier sources, but is becoming increasingly frequent as well.

Similar variation to that found in Burushaski between original case-marked subordination strategies exhibiting a deranked structure, mixed constructions with complementizers or adverbial subordinators in combination with the case marking strategy, and fully balanced formations with finite verb forms and an adverbial subordinator or complementizer may be found in Siberian languages that make or made extensive use of this clausal subordination strategy as well. Thus, one finds sentences with case marking on the verb alone ((69a), (70a)), forms with both adverbial subordinators or complementizers in combination with case marking ((69b), (70b)) or even outright replacement of the case marked subordination strategy ((69c), (70c)) in such languages as Abakan Xakas (Turkic) or the isolate (Yeniseic) language Ket.

(68) a. *Standardized Xakas*
ol ***kil-gen-de*** *obed toozɨl par-ɣan*
s/he come-**PST.PRTCPL-LOC** lunch end PRFV.II-PST
'when he arrived, lunch had ended' (Anderson 2000: 224)

b. *Abakan Xakas*
xaǰan *olar kil-**gen-de**,* *min gazeta* *xɨɣɨr-ɣa-m*
when they come-**PST-LOC** I newspaper read-PST-1
'when they came, I was reading the newspaper'
(Anderson 2000: 224)

c. *Abakan Xakas*
*xaǰan olar **kil-gen-ne(r)** min xɨɣɨr-ɣa-m*
when they come-PST-PL I read-PST-1
'when they came I was reading' (Anderson 2000: 226)

(69) a. *Ket*
ətn qɔt-bes' *däŋ-ɔn'-**ka*** *ətn aslenɛŋ* *(t)-t-ɔ-l-ɔɣ-in*
we path-PROSEC 1PL-go-**LOC** we boat(.PL) 1-PV-PST-PRET-see-PL
'when we went along the path, we saw a boat' (Werner 1997b: 354)

b. *Ket*
as'ka *t-si:je-n-**ka*** *ba·t* *is-na* *kəyɣa-n kəma*
when I-eat-PL-**LOC** old.man fish-GEN.PL head-PL away
d-e:s-k-a-v-ä
I-up-PV-PRES-INAN-throw/SF
'when they eat, the old man simply throws away the fish heads'
(Kostjakov 1976: 60)

c. *Ket*
as'ka *bu-d* *ella-diŋa* ***d-in-bis-in'*** *xemga dɨl'* *ab-ɨŋa*
when s/he-GEN.I door-DAT/ALL **I-PST-come-PL** Evenki child I-DAT
t-o-b-iŋ-giy *'bot…'*
PV-PST-INAN-PRET-tell 'here is…'
'when they approached his door, the Evenki boy said to me "Here is…"' (Kostjakov 1976: 57)

The question naturally arises as to why languages with a similar originally deranked subordinate clause structure would show similar variation and paths of development towards a balanced structure in complex sentences. The answer is probably related to several factors. First, deranked structure is considered to be less easily processed and acquired by children with more difficulty and at a later stage of development than balanced structure in complex sentences (cf. Slobin 1986 for a discussion of these factors with respect to functionally similar but formally distinct relative constructions in Turkish and English). This belongs to the linguistic (formal/functional) domain of causality or explanation. Another explanation relates to the sociolinguistic context of the languages involved. In the case of the Siberian languages, there is strong pressure on all

levels from the socially dominant Russian language, where balanced structure is favored over deranked constructions in the system of complex sentence formation, at least in the local vernacular. Bilingualism in various structurally different Indo-European languages is certainly widespread among the speakers of the various Burushaski dialects as well, at least among male speakers, and the fact that the speakers with the lowest incidence of the case-marked clausal subordination strategy are also the ones with the greatest daily dealings with speakers of other languages can hardly be a coincidence (cf. the texts in Anderson et al. [compilers] 1998; Berger 1974, 1998). In short, both structure-processing and sociolinguistic factors appear to contribute to the replacement of deranked structures with balanced ones, or in other words the loss of the case-marked clausal subordination strategy in both the various Siberian languages and in Burushaski.

4. Conclusions

Case marked clausal subordination is a common feature of Burushaski complex sentence formation, appearing in many different formal stem-plus-case combinations and creating subordinate clauses of a wide range of functional types. The various verb forms include the infinitive, the aorist participle, the durative form and even fully finite auxiliary verb formations. The cases used include the dative-lative, the ablative, the inessive, the locative, the genitive, the superessive, and the adessive. Similar case marked clausal subordination strategies are found in numerous other languages, particularly a wide range of SOV languages of Eurasia. In addition, while indeed common in this isolate language of northern Pakistan, particularly in narrative genres, it nevertheless appears to vary with non-morphological (i.e. analytic/syntactic) subordination strategies, and to be increasingly subject to loss; this latter tendency also has parallels in high-contact varieties of Siberian languages (formerly) making use of this subordination strategy. In both instances, this shift away from functionally motivated case marked clausal subordination appears to be attributable to both general typological pressure to eliminate cross-linguistically marked features that are disfavored by apparent differences in perceptual and acquisitional ease or salience, in combination with sociolinguistic factors favoring the loss of formations lacking in local, structurally different, socially dominant languages in the speech of bilingual speakers.

Notes

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1. The verb 'come' has a large number of forms which consists of a Ø-stem allomorph with a SUBJ.VERS-prefix. It is possible that in proto-Burushaski, the SUBJ.VERS (or D-) prefix may have arisen from a univerbation of an auxiliary verb construction involving the verb 'come'. Such is probably the case, for example, in the history of the subject version construction in South Munda language Gorum as well as in various Siberian Turkic languages, e.g. Xakas (Anderson 1998), Tuvan (Anderson and Harrison 1999) or Tofa (Anderson 2001).

2. Data for the paper comes from published materials and the author's field notes with a speaker of the Yasin dialect of Burushaski (Werchikwar) conducted in Chicago during the summer of 1998 (cf. Anderson, Eggert, Zide, and Ramat [compilers] 1998).

3. Note that the first person singular marker in *-a-*, which appears in a template position preceding the aorist participle in the Burushaski verb, takes the place of the epenthetic high vowel.

4. The Burushaski verb template has eleven positions, four prefix positions (positions −4 to −1) the verb stem (Ø) and six suffix positions (positions +1 to +6).

NEG	SUBJ. VERS	PRSN/CLS/ NMBR	CAUS	VB.STM	PL.SUBJ	DUR	1SG.SUBJ	AP/INF/ OPT/COND/ AUX	SUBJ/ CASE	Q
−4	−3	−2	−1	Ø	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6

5. A range of formations with a lexical verbal predicate in the durative stem form in the locative case may be used in combination with various auxiliary verb constructions in Burushaski. These constructions frequently create (past) continuative or durative forms. See the examples in (i).

(i) a. *ɣur-ó giá-**č-um-e** ní-m-ie*
stone-PL fall-**DUR-AP-LOC** AUX-AP-III.PL
'the stones kept falling' [Berger 1998: 172]

b. *p^{h}u bal-**íč-um**-e ní-m-i*
fire burn-**DUR-AP-LOC** AUX-AP-IV
'the fire kept burning' [Berger 1998: 172]

c. *hiŋ yakal baréi-**m-e** ba-m*
door toward look.**DUR-AP-LOC** AUX-AP
'he was looking at the door' [Berger 1998: 172]

d. *in yágu-**č-um-e** hurúṭ-um-o*
s/he I.search-**DUR-AP-LOC** AUX-AP-II
'she kept searching for him' [Berger 1998: 172]

e. *harált di-áar-**š-um-e** hurúṭ-im-i*
rain SUBJ.VERS-rain-**DUR-AP-LOC** AUX-AP-IV
'it kept raining' [Berger 1998: 172]

6. Thus, according to Tikkanen (1995), the dative, ablative, or comitative case forms of the aorist participle or infintive are used primarily in different subject constructions.

7. Note that the verb 'die' may be found with an ergative subject in Burushaski.

8. Although all of the examples in (60) are in fact in different subject constructions.

9. According to Harris and Campbell (1995:291) in the Kartvelian language Laz, as in Ket and Burushaski, one may find examples of cases attaching directly to finite verb forms. Further examples of cases attaching to finite verb forms come from certain Australian languages, e.g. Pitta-Pitta or Lhanima (Blake 1999:305). Although infrequently attested in the world's languages, case marked, fully finite verbs functioning as subordinate clauses is an apparent minor typological pattern.

Abbreviations

ABS	Absolutive
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ACT	Action
ADESS	Adessive
AGT	Agent
ALL	Allative
AN	Auxiliary noun
AOR	Aorist
AP	Aorist Participle
ARTCL	Article
AUX	Auxiliary (verb)
CAP	Capabilitive
CAUS	Causative
CLOC	Cislocative
CNCTV	Connective
COMP	Complementizer
CV	Converb
D	"D"-prefix/preverb
DAT	Dative
DIR	Directional
DS	Different Subject
DUR	Durative
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EVID	Evidential
FIN	Finite
FUT, F	Future
G	Goal
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
I	Class-I
II	Class-II
III	Class-III
ILLAT	Illative
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfect(ive)
INAN	Inanimate
INC	Inclusive
INCH	Inchoative
INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrumental
INTR	Intransitive
IV	Class-IV
LAT	Lative
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
NF	Non-finite
OBJ	Object
OBLQ	Oblique
PAT	Patient
P/E	Prosecutive-Equative
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PRES, P	Present
PRFV	Perfective
PRTCPL	Participle
PST	Past

PP	Postposition
PV	Preverb
Q	Interrogative
REDPL	Reduplication
RM	Remote
SF	Stem-Formant
SG	Singular
SIMULT	Simultaneous
SUBJ	Subject
SUBJ.VERS	Subject Version
SUBORD	Subordinator
SUP	Supine
SUPERESS	Superessive
SUPERLAT	Superlative
TLOC	Translocative
TR	Transitive
U	Undergoer
UNACMPL	Unaccomplished
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	3rd Person

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